NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
10 cents
Vol. 7, No. 46 NEW YORK, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 5, 1955

LIBERTE, EGALITE, FRATERNITE
But not for Algerians; instead, hot steel from a U. S. weapon

WAR & PEACE

Ike throws cold water on the peace spirit of Geneva

By Kumar Goshal

IN TWO IMPORTANT policy speeches before the American Bar Assn. on Aug. 24 and 25 President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon dampened the spirit of Geneva. The President revived the cold war issues by opposing "the division of Germany," "the domination of captive countries" and "an international political machine, operating within . . . sovereign nations for their . . . subversion." Nixon spelled out the policy by bluntly demanding that Moscow

- Agree to the unification of Germany.
- Get Chinese troops out of Korea.
- Accept Eisenhower's aerial inspection plan.
- Give "freedom" to E. Europe.
- Eliminate the alleged Moscow-controlled Communist organizations abroad.

TOO MUCH PEACE? The speeches were undoubtedly prompted by signs of U.S.-sponsored NATO's weakening; acceptance of the Geneva spirit by many U. S. allies and their consequent desire to cut military budgets; invitations to Soviet leaders to visit London and New Delhi and to French Premier Faure and Egyptian Premier Nasser to visit Moscow; and pressure from S. Korea's Rhee and Formosa's Chiang (and their Washington supporters), all of them—as the London **New Statesman** (8/13) pointed out—"cold war profiteers faced with the prospect of political bankruptcy if peace really breaks out."

James Reston reported (**N.Y. Times,** 8/25) that U. S. Ambassadors abroad were instructed a week ahead "to make clear in their capitals" that this was Washington's "considered policy." Reston also said that the speeches would be the basis of instructions Secy. of State Dulles would take to the Oct. 27 Geneva foreign ministers' meeting, and that Asst. Secy. Livingston Merchant would go to London, Paris and Bonn to line up support for this policy.

MAN'S HOPE: Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer, leaving for Moscow on Sept. 9, was delighted by Eisenhower's speech. But the British were reported (**NYT,** 8/26) "skeptical of the wisdom" of discussing E. Europe and "Communist subversion" at the October Geneva meeting. The N.Y. **Post** (8/26) said the speech would "revive the suspicion" that Eisenhower's statements at the Geneva Big Four meeting did not reflect his own State Dept.'s spirit, and that "the pressures of Knowlandism were far from dead." Conceding that "this speech is not the end of everything," the **Post** editorial continued:

> "Whatever else it may be, the 'Geneva spirit' is the manifestation of man's hope for survival in the nuclear age. It is not a college cheer; it cannot be turned on and off at the whim of any man; if the President lacks the valor or imagination to pursue the path he outlined at Geneva, it would have been far better if he had stayed home."

CRISIS IN N. AFRICA: Eisenhower's solicitude for "captive countries" did not extend to such colonies as the French possessions in N. Africa. In Morocco and Algeria casualties rose to over 2,000. Although Morocco was reported to be momentarily quiet, with "threats of guerrilla action in the countryside" (**NYT,** 8/28), fighting continued in Algeria.

Thousands of demonstrators marching through the streets of Karachi in protest against French brutalities in N. Africa forced the pro-U. S. Pakistan government to declare that its "sympathies rest with the people of Morocco

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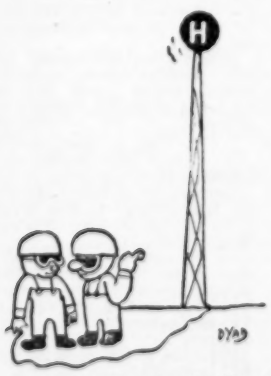

Drawing by Dyad, London
"Yeah, but supposing we're not here to negotiate from strength?"

FIRST JOB FOR AMERICANS

There can be no peace till cold war victims are free

By Cedric Belfrage
GUARDIAN Editor-in-Exile

LONDON

IN A FIELD AS WIDE AS THE WORLD except for one country—the United States—much that is new lies ahead for me in my work as a journalist. But before I move into it, one great task directly related to the American scene demands to be performed. I wish I could perform it half adequately.

I have spent three months in an American jail—an overnight stay as time is measured there—as a political prisoner during the greatest world-political change of the Cold Decade. When I went in, Bandoeng had happened and laid foundations for the change. Before I came out, Muscovites and Titoites had made it up, the American flyers were back from Peking and Ike was back from Geneva. Some already saw a flag with two entwined hearts flying over the cold-war battlements.

AT THIS JUNCTURE which we all welcome with thankful hearts it is my business, perhaps more than it is anybody's, to remind progressives that dozens of political prisoners remain behind bars, and dozens more seem certain to join them. Under the laws now on the statute books, if there is any foreseeable prospect of their coming out, it is coupled with the prospect of their being thrown back in on "other" charges if they ever again exercise their right to speak their minds.

Not only is there no evidence of an easing on this domestic front of the cold war. The sharpening stresses on the U. S. economy—propped up as it is by astronomical arms spending, depending in turn on the people being kept in constant fear—suggest that the Administration may be looking for new ways to intensify it. To maintain the fear to get the arms appropriations to delay recession, an "enemy" is needed. The more Ike develops his pen-palship with Zhukov, the closer China gets to entering UN, the more must the fiendish overthrower be exposed in our own midst. My good friend Rep. Walter is on the warpath for political scalps again, political evictions are being stepped up and young men are found guilty of association with their mothers.

(Continued on Page 6)

Belfrages send their thanks to all friends

LONDON

DURING OUR WEEK on the ocean we have tried—and failed—to acknowledge personally all the farewell messages and gifts showered upon us by known and unknown GUARDIAN friends. Of these there have been so many, all expressing such warmth for us and such devotion for the paper, that we are sure nobody has ever gone into exile so heartened for whatever the future may bring.

Will those to whom we have not been able to write personally accept this form of acknowledgment and appreciation?

Cedric and Josephine Belfrage

DIANE AND FLOOD CONTROL

Proper system of dams could have saved lives and property

By Elmer Bendiner

EARLY IN JULY Gen. Robert L. Fleming Jr., Army division engineer in New England, told the Connecticut River Valley Flood Control Committee:

> "Just as sure as I'm standing here, you'll get another disastrous flood on the Connecticut River. We are absolutely powerless to give you protection unless you act."

Gen. Fleming had in mind a "routine" spring flood, not Hurricane Diane which made him look like a prophet when it precipitated seas of rain and devastated vast regions in the Northeast. Nevertheless, as 35,000 families picked themselves out of the ruins and debris of the most disastrous flood in the area's history, flood control became more than a football for politicians in and out of the Army.

SECTIONALISM: For years Massachusetts, Conneciticut, New Hampshire and Vermont have been haggling over a system of dams, with the Army engineers knee deep in the bickering. The streams which feed the floods rise in New Hampshire and Vermont, but when the floods come, these states get off lightly; Massachusetts and Connecticut bear the brunt.

Connecticut and Massachusetts lobbied in Washington for flood control but New Hampshire and Vermont, where some of the dams would be built, stayed cool. Connecticut's Gov. Ribicoff went so far as to offer to stock the reservoirs behind the proposed dams with fish and make the area a game preserve. He argued that the water could be used for irrigation; New Hampshire and Vermont were unimpressed.

Army engineers have been pushing for 15 more dams covering 2,000 square miles of watershed and requiring a Federal expenditure of $125,000,000. Gen. Fleming's prophetic outburst in July stemmed from his frustration in

(Continued on Page 6)

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THE MAIL BAG

Geneva is up to YOU

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I cannot conceive you avoiding publishing a scathing denunciation of the reversal of attitude of the Eisenhower administration from the conciliatory one it took at Geneva last July.

This ominous reversal began to be made public by the President in his address in Philadelphia Aug. 24, by the article James Reston had in the Times Aug. 25, by what Dulles and Vice Pres. Nixon said on the same day. In Sunday's Times appears the headline "Eisenhower and Nixon End the Phony Peace." Use of term "phony peace" is very significant of what, unquestionably, is the attitude of sinister forces within the government.

Also very significant aspects of this dangerous attitude are provided by what the New Republic (8/29) makes known in its "Behind the Headlines" department under the caption, "U.S. Won't Give Up Her Bombs," and the Christian Science Monitor (8/25) in a front page dispatch from its Washington correspondent bearing the caption, "President Sets Tone for Geneva," in which under the subtitle "Dulles Hand Seen" it says: "The new tack or tactic by the Eisenhower administration represents the more cautious, calculating approach and recommendation of his chief diplomatic adviser, Secy. Dulles."

Clearly the tone for the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers in Geneva next October that has been set by Eisenhower, Dulles and Nixon is the dangerous tone of determination to continue the policies of the cold war. A large majority of human beings have come to recognize those policies as potentially disastrous for the entire race because they breed conditions favorable to the outbreak of local wars that very easily will end in a world war of extermination.

Earnestly I expect you will deal with the matter with all the vigor you can muster for impressing on readers of the GUARDIAN the dangers to peace involved in the outrageous reversal the Eisenhower administration has performed.

A. Garcia Diaz

At GUARDIAN press time this week, no condemnation has come from any significant individual or group in either the Democratic or Republican parties respecting the turn of events described above and on p. 1. In the absence of organized independent opinion such as that which challenged the Truman Doctrine, the Korean War and the threats against China and Indo-China, the protest this time must come almost wholly from individual action. We urge every reader to protest immediately through letters and telegrams to the White House with as wide concurrence as possible from individuals and groups. —Ed.

Mistake

WARREN, CONN.

I note in your generous account of the Hiroshima meeting at Carnegie Hall Aug. 10, you say "only the overcast at Kyoto spared that shrine." This is a mistake. Secy. Stimson vetoed the suggestion that Kyoto be bombed.

Arthur Upham Pope

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"Remember that security is the cry of the coward; opportunity the cry of the brave. We have a world full of opportunities. Are we throwing them away because we want to be secure?"

—La Motte T. Cohu, General Dynamics Corp.; Commencement address at Whittier College, Calif., as reported in Fortune magazine, July, 1955.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Mrs. Penny Katz, Van Nuys, Calif.

U.S. the loser

NORTHRIDGE, CALIF.

We cannot grieve over Belfrage's deportation as we grieved over the execution of the Rosenbergs and the long term imposed upon Sobell. Cedric will be going back to friends and freedom and an easier life. Only America stands to lose.

Cedric was a brave battler for American freedom and the American way of life. Thanks for the good fight you are making.

George Motter

True patriots

LONDON, ENGLAND

Just a line to tell you how much my friends and I sympathize with you over Cedric Belfrage's deportation. It was abominable to keep him in prison and I am sure you have done the right thing by submitting temporarily to his exile.

I am sure he will be active here and do much editorial work from a European base. There will be much sympathy for him among journalists, as the circumstances of his arrest were such an outrageous denial of ordinary human rights.

You can't think how much I admire you Americans, who keep attacking the bad things in your country's external and internal policy. You are the true patriots and you are building a bridge of friendship to other countries where U.S.A.'s name might otherwise be "Mud Unlimited." **Freda Cook**

More light

CIRCLE, MONT.

Next Monday we pay our electric bill to the REA Co-op. Since the electric light is $15 minimum, thought I would send you the same for the "light" which the GUARDIAN furnishes.

There are hundreds of worthy charities, from the viewpoint of those who accept the status quo as worthy, but for those of us who see the need for radical social reorganization to meet modern day needs, our obligation to spread the "light" becomes our first duty.

The physically handicapped and the mentally deficient are objects of worthy pity, but present social viewpoint, or public sentiment, decrees that an ever-increasing number of political victims, whose only handicap is possession of needed light beyond the present status of public sentiment, are in greatest need. Their need for financial help is great and their need of moral support in their efforts to spread the vital truth of social change is paramount. The NATIONAL GUARDIAN and its editor-in-exile, Cedric Belfrage, symbolize this group.

Abraham Lincoln once said: "With public sentiment nothing can fail, without it nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who executes statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible to be executed." **Hobart McKean**

Still unclaimed?

BERKELEY, CALIF.

A boy's leather jacket was found at the picnic grounds after the GUARDIAN picnic at the Hallinan's on July 31. **Malvina Reynolds**

New arrests in Greece

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We have just learned that the Greek government has arrested Roula Koukoulou, president of the Greek branch of the Women's International Democratic Federation. If the Greek government pursues its past and present policies of dealing with political opponents, Miss Koukoulou will undoubtedly be charged with "espionage" and prosecuted under Law 375. Indictment and court martial under Law 375 is tantamount to a verdict of guilty and sentence of death.

The arrest of Miss Koukoulou is but one of many. Since September there have been seven executions—six within a two-week period. Twelve additional death sentences have been handed down and courts martial currently sitting will undoubtedly swell the number of those facing death. There are four women now facing courts martial proceedings — Ionna Sotiropoulou, Athena Sophopoulou, Demtra Trezou and Chrysoula Gogolou—all of whom share with Miss Koukoulou the crime of opposing present government policies and ardently engaging in the fight for peace and democracy.

The Greek government is sensitive to the voices of the peoples of the world. When the United Nations voiced its protest in 1948, the lives of 10 Greek maritime trade unionists were saved. Last month King Paul weakened under the combined pressure of forces within and outside Greece and commuted the death sentences of six patriots sentenced by courts martial to face a firing squad.

Public pressure can prevent the Greek government from bringing Miss Koukoulou before a court of death. We urge your readers to protest to Prime Minister Papagos demanding her release, and to urge that all political prisoners under sentence of death be granted commutation of sentence, that Law 375 be abolished and general amnesty proclaimed to achieve pacification of Greece.

Council of Greek Americans

Baltimore Afro-American

"I don't believe in segregation, bub!"

See cashier first

BRONX, N. Y.

My brother has been in a large, well-known hospital for eight months, has undergone seven operations, three of which were very serious. He was in critical condition at times. A fortune of money had been paid the hospital on this case; also 11 donations of blood.

Seven weeks ago, my brother—who had lost 60 pounds in weight, could not walk and was in great pain—was suddenly discharged by the hospital. A week later we discovered he had gangrene in his foot. The doctor said he must reenter the hospital to undergo an amputation. But the hospital officials said he could not re-enter until an outstanding bill of $800 was paid immediately.

Raising $800 in one day was not easy for a working-man's family. Finally with the $800 check, and with pleadings and tears, my brother was re-admitted. Two weeks lated his left leg was amputated.

Profits come first, even to some hospitals. **Cecelia (Dietch) Paula**

Flood victims

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The tragic flood devastation clearly indicates that the U.S. Government should send billions of dollars to the affected states, rather than the wasted spending on atomic bombs, army and navy. In this tragic hour, these people do not want billions to be spent on "defense" but billions to be spent on survival. **Harry Fries**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-3960.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. All other countries $4 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 7, No. 46 — 178 — SEPTEMBER 5, 1955

"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?"—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

REPORT TO READERS

Double the guard!

A MONTH FROM NOW, under postal regulations, most newspapers will publish their average circulation figures for the past year. We think we should start talking about ours right now.

Our average for the year ending Sept. 30 will be in the neighborhood of 35,000 copies sold weekly. Actual readership is something else again, estimated by many publications at about 2.5 readers for each copy sold. In our case we don't honestly know, nor have we any means of knowing, how widely each copy of the GUARDIAN is read by others than the original subscriber or purchaser.

We do know that the 35,000 individuals we know we reach each week comprise a tremendously important group of people throughout the U.S. Without any political organization to bind them together, they may generally be regarded as a group of Americans who see eye to eye on questions of peace, rights and the need for economic betterment—and will act for these things. That they can move together as a group, even to the extent of starting their own organization for this purpose, was evident in the historic campaign around the Rosenbergs, initiated by GUARDIAN readers and carried to worldwide proportions.

IN THE MONTHS AHEAD there are other historic campaigns to be mounted—none so poignant in human appeal as the Rosenberg Case, but all vital to the proposition that repression and political frameup must be stamped out of American life and democracy given its chance to flourish.

The objectives are clear and in plain sight: the Alien & Sedition Laws of our time must be wiped off the books of state and nation; the peace must be secured on the basis of world friendship and cooperation; equality, security and equal opportunity assured for all within our power to establish this. Candidates for public office must be nailed down to these objectives, helped to feel the real strength of the popular support which exists for them.

We know of no one else who will personally spark these campaigns except YOU; and you alone can know who will join with you, where you live and work, in organizing for this fight.

DOUBLE THE GUARD! Now, right now, every GUARDIAN reader should add a new reader or subscriber—this week, today. When the campaigning starts, let's not be talking to just one another; let's pass the information on to others, and keep on passing it.

Sign someone up now—and again and again—for a $1, 6-month sub; increase your own sub to a bundle of three or five papers weekly and pass them around. Above all, don't lose track of the new people you reach. And don't hesitate to tell us, here, what we ought to be doing that we are not doing, or could be doing better.

In brief, in the favorite parting words of our Editor-in-Exile, Cedric Belfrage, "Keep in touch!" And Labor Day, 1955, is not too early to start.

Printers' measure

CHICAGO, ILL.

Enclosed find money order of $18 for one year renewal of my subscription and a $15 donation from three printers to carry on the work.

William Kane

Welcome relief

CLIFTON, N. J.

Even though I do not always quite agree with all you have to say, I find your paper welcome relief after wading through gobs of big business propaganda put out by most of the local dailies. ($2 enclosed.) **Charles R. Checkley**

At any newsstand

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The August issue of McCall's Magazine starts a serial, So Help Me God, which seems very worthwhile. Your readers should be encouraged to read it. **Murray Kubit**

Opium war

PAROWAN, UTAH

Would Jeff Patrick please have printed in booklet form the information he has obtained on the opium traffic in China and include the history of the opium war fought between China and England in the early 80's?

Progressives would buy copies of the booklet and spread them, which would blast the lie that China is smuggling opium into this country. **Olive Carroll**

For "Pop"

BRONX, N. Y.

Excerpt of a letter, as requested by Mrs. Mindel in the GUARDIAN, sent to the Federal Parole Board, Washington, D. C.

"I cannot get myself to believe that a kind-faced man like Jacob Mindel could even 'overthrow' a fly, let alone such a strong institution as the government of the United States!

"We are quick to criticize 'political oppression' in foreign nations: let us not commit the same transgression against the conscience of those who inhabit our own land."

Miriam Stern

GOV. HARRIMAN'S OWN SHOW

Probers of kid's camps get solid defiance from witnesses

By Eugene Gordon

A NEW YORK legislative committee investigating adult and children's summer camps and resorts had promised to show that many "are maintained for clandestine meetings for high-level Communist conclaves," and that the International Workers Order [low-priced insurance and fraternal body destroyed by the state] "is an important part of the Communist apparatus tied in with these camps." But when Chairman Sen. Edward P. Larkin (R-Nassau Co.) closed the hearings on Aug. 25, he complained that because "every attempt to remove [Communists] disturbs and hurts innocent and God-fearing people," the committee's aim had been frustrated.

One reason his boast fell through was that not one of the parents the committee intended to call as "friendly" witnesses showed up. As to the complaint that its task was made "much more difficult because we don't want to hurt innocent people," the committee had already

- Privately revealed to reporters the name of the hospital employing nurse-witness Janet Moore, after publicly promising to keep it secret so as not to jeopardize her job;
- Told reporters the committee would not call two "children"—18-year-old Mona Tennenbaum and 20-year-old Melinda Farber—as witnesses from the audience, because it did not want to subject them to ruthless public examination; but called them immediately after their counsel had formally asked that they not be called;
- Agreed not to make a former school teacher's address public, then privately gave it to reporters, who wrote it into their stories.

"MISUSE OF FUNDS": The official title of the group, charged by several witnesses with imitating Sen. Joe McCarthy's methods, is the Joint Legislative Committee on Charitable and Philanthropic Agencies and Organizations. The N. Y. State Legislature set it up in March, 1953, under the chairmanship of Queens Republican Sen. Bernard T. Tompkins, with Queens Sen. Charles T. Corey as counsel (GUARDIAN, 2/7). Its inquiries into alleged fund-raising rackets resulted in laws to control some types of solicitations. It has been running on short-term leases-of-life since Gov. Dewey in March, 1954, extended it to the following December. Last Feb. 23 it began a 3-day investigation of the Civil Rights Congress and other "left wing" groups. Larkin had succeeded Tompkins in the chair and Tompkins had Corey's place. Dist. Atty. Hogan announced last March 1 that he had called for the record of those hearings for evidence of "fraud."

"Misuse of funds" was the main theme also in last week's inquiry. Though Tompkins spoke of the "defunct" IWO, he tried to make Nahum Polak admit that as bookkeeper of "this $1,000,000 corporation, Camp Kinderland," he knew the IWO invested the "millions" and thereby controlled the camp. Chairman Larkin told a press conference the committee would show "these camps are financed by the Communist Party and that mere figureheads" run them. He later shouted at Russian-born Tomas Ptucha that the committee was "astounded at you people's flagrant disregard" for records. Ptucha was financial secretary of an IWO Russian society. "You had no trouble raising tremendous sums of money," Larkin declared, eye constantly on the press table.

ALL INTER-RACIAL: The witness' explanation that "it took me 30 years to save $2,000" brought applause from the audience and gavel-banging from Larkin.

This reporter during a recess heard his unexpressed observation echoed by a spectator:

"Almost all these camps are Jewish-owned, and the others take in Jewish and Negro children without discrimination."

The crowded room was overwhelmingly anti-committee. Chairman Larkin and his asssociates were noticeably what witness Howard DaSilva called "public-relations conscious." The quip brought guarded laughter from spectators and an angry bellow from Larkin.

RESULTS NIL: Threats to empty the room usually put an abrupt end to applause or laughter. It would have been literally emptied if the chair's threat had been carried out following Norman Studer's departing shot. He had been begging permission to read a statement telling what is taught and how much money is spent at children's Camp Woodland, Phoenecia. Larkin shouted:

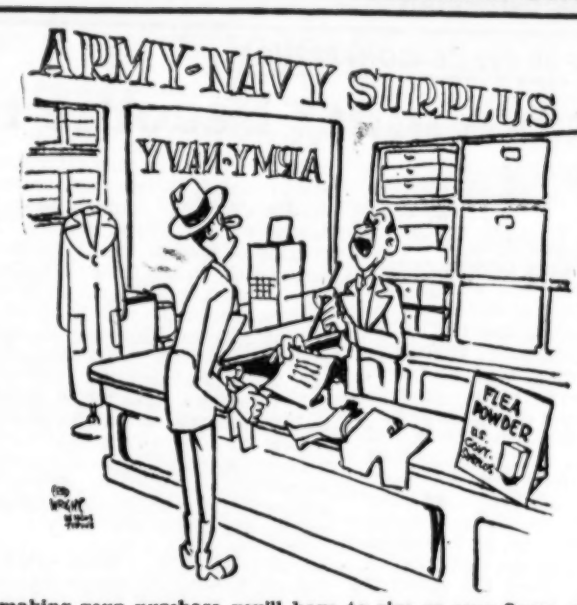
"Go on and read your statement. It'll be gratuitous."

"You very carefully refrained from asking me about the **program** of our camp," Studer accused.

The room was crowded; applause was unanimous.

The committee justified its case partly on the allegation that parents of two camps had complained of their children's being "communized." The investigators produced no parent-witness to back that charge; just barely turned up one Negro who was "friendly." Stuyvesant Community Center's Albert Edwards said he wasn't "ashamed" to testify, because the committee hadn't investigated the interracial camps he managed. The only other Negro witness, Mrs. Yolanda Wilkerson, was decidedly "unfriendly" to the committee in her refusal to name persons to whom she had turned over the books when she left the United Summer Appeal for Children.

These hearings came as the direct result of Gov. Harriman's prodding. They would haunt him more than the GOE.



Before making your purchase you'll have to give us your finger prints and sign a loyalty oath. . . ."

LABOR DAY, 1955

Unity depends more on the pickets than the brass

LABOR WAS TO HAVE its long weekend in September; its big day was to come Dec. 1, date of the AFL-CIO merger. The autumn would be taken up with dickering over the marriage contract.

The proposed constitution of the new AFL-CIO has already stirred violent objections and threats of holdout. The AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has assailed it because it offers no effective curb on jimcrow unions (though it puts teeth into anti-communist provisions). The AFL Intl. Typographical Union in its convention last week voted to reject the whole constitution because it threatens to violate the union's autonomy. The CIO Transport Workers denounced the merger agreement from the start for both of those reasons and a score of others. The AFL Pulp and Sulphite Workers expressed the dissatisfaction of the smaller unions with the prospect of a federation machinery dominated by the big unions.

UNITY—IN STRIKES: Brightest hopes for a happy marriage came not from labor's brass but from the picket lines. The CIO United Auto Workers, entering their second year in the strike against the Kohler plants in Sheboygan, Wisc., have been supported by the AFL Machinists, the independent United Electrical Workers and others.

When UE struck the Square D plant in Detroit and Landers, Frary & Clark in New Britain, Conn., it won similar support that crossed all lines and put a truce to red-baiting. Four AFL unions, three railway unions and the independent Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers teamed up in the victorious strike against Kennecott Copper.

The workers at International Harvester, hitherto divided between the UE's Farm Equipment Workers and the CIO United Auto Workers, merged into the UAW and are currently tasting the fruits of unity in a completely effective strike, reportedly near a settlement.

THE GROWN-UP: Unity didn't always hold. The General Electric Co. last month offered the UE and the CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers identical contracts providing a 4.5c-an-hour raise and fringe benefits. UE denounced the offer as "retrogressive" and contributing to a depression by its less-than-a nickel raise. Without consultation with UE and within ten minutes after receiving the company's terms, IUE Pres. James Carey called them "a splendid settlement" and accepted. The IUE locals went along but not without grumbling. When the Louisville local voted to turn the settlement down, Carey said:

"Some people take longer than others to grow up."

At least one union was left in the cold. The Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. opened an all-out fight against the most menacing effort to regiment labor in the nation: the N.Y.-N.J. Waterfront Commission. That fight has been backed so far only by the West Coast Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union.

Isolation seemed scarcely to trouble the United Mine Workers of America which last week announced a new contract netting some 125,000 soft-coal miners in the north another $2 a day. It gives the miners a basic daily rate of $20.25 in a pay class with auto and steel. Southern coal miners were reported falling into line with the new rates. The settlement makes no mention of the shorter work-day which, many miners hoped, would spread the work around in an industry of now chronic unemployment. UMW Pres. John L. Lewis celebrated the settlement with a neatly thrown barb at the UAW's Walter Reuther and his Guaranteed Annual Wage:

"It [the coal settlement] is devoid of Marxian babble and contains no wind or water. . . . The agreement is a constructive instrument with edible virtues. Mine workers require strong meat and eating money will produce more coal than philosophic discourse."

BROWNELL AT WORK: Two other unions were fighting labor's battle without general labor support. Mine-Mill was facing the first test of the "Communist Control Act" against a trade union. At the height of the recent copper strike Atty. Gen. Brownell petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to declare Mine-Mill a "communist-infiltrated" organization. If successful, the precedent could shackle all labor, but no protest has yet come from any major union.

The big ones continued to regard any union charged with being left as fair game. Local and national legislative committees went witch-hunting among the unions without rousing labor's top echelons. It remained for UE Pres. Albert J. Fitzgerald to tell off probers of the Massachusetts legislature:

"Our union isn't dominated by anybody but its membership. You people are not dues-paying members of our union and you're not going to tell us how to run it."

THE NO-JOB MENACE: Though quiet on the political menace, at least a part of labor was concerned with unemployment and ghost towns amid the current "boom." The CIO's Economic Outlook spotlighted 132 areas in the country with over 6% unemployment, including seven with over 12% unemployment. The CIO called for a federal program including public works to ease the situation, but called the unemployment "chronic."

In foreign policy the newly united labor movement seemed likely to be dominated by the moss-backs and constitute a drag on the peace movement. The AFL Executive Council meeting in Chicago last month, said "the democracies" had gained little at the summit meeting in Geneva, warned against disarmament, "concessions" and "massive super-appeasement." Of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. exchange of farmer delegations, AFL pres. Meany said:

"We are giving respectability to people who are not respectable."

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Belfrage

(Continued from Page 1)

AS ONE FRESH OUT OF JAIL sees it, American progressives have no time or energy to waste on hallellujahs for the international consequences of Geneva. Such hallellujahs are appropriate only in the context of a far more determined fight for our own political prisoners. The lot of these prisoners and their wives, husbands and children is indeed a grievous one. Their very right to live is taken from them, for it is to frustration and mere bitter existence—lit only by a small flame of hope—that they are condemned in such grim abodes as Atlanta, Leavenworth and Alcatraz, or in the homes that are broken and no longer homes.

In these prisons, among inmates mostly far gone in depravity in a ruthless society, the daily task is to retain hope and self-respect. The political prisoners have no status, for the authorities in their ghoulish game deny there is such a category of prisoners. All they have that sets them off from the hardened criminals is that the opportunity to earn "good time" off their sentences is denied them.

THE MEASURE of their ability to retain hope and self-respect is the extent to which we on the outside will fight for them. I have had time at least to understand what happens to inmates in their confined helplessness who feel they have been abandoned, or that the fight to get them out is not being properly and intelligently conducted.

The debt that all progressives owe to these caged men and women will not be paid until the last one is out in the street. It doesn't matter whether you know any of them personally. It doesn't matter whether you agree with all, or even with any, of their political views. The outrage is that political prisoners exist in America—and in places like Atlanta and Leavenworth and Alcatraz. The job is to make all Americans capable of shame aware of this stinking sore on the body of their country.

THE WORLD political climate does not eliminate the job: it makes it more necessary than ever, but it also makes it far easier to do. It is a climate in which the neglected plant of sanity has a chance to grow. We should be thankful for that and not expect any more unless we grasp and direct the waterhose.

Nearly all Americans welcome the moves to end the cold war. Tell them it's too soon for the hosannas until the war ends at home.

Dams could have saved lives

(Continued from Page 1)

rallying the two balky states to lobby Washington for the Army's program.

WHAT ICKES SAID: Flood control advocates take a dim view of the Army's record, recalling the late Secy. of the Interior Harold L. Ickes' devastating comment:

> "It is to be doubted whether any federal agency in the history of this country has so wantonly wasted money on worthless projects as has the Corps of Army Engineers. It is beyond human imagination. . . . No more lawless or irresponsible federal group than the Corps of Army Engineers has ever attempted to operate in the U. S., either without or within the law."

ROLL OUT THE PORK BARREL: Last week Col. Kenneth J. Cramsie of the Engineers, giving twice-a-day press briefings in New York on the Army's flood operations, said Diane would be used in getting federal funds for more dams. He said the Engineers had to justify every dam they built by a "cost benefit ratio." The "benefit" was the estimated damage by a flood that might be prevented. Diane had upped that figure beyond the Engineer's expectations. Col. Cramsie added:

"Not that we're looking for business."

The devastated area would have to consider genuine flood control soon. Last week it had other problems. Aside from death and property destruction and the care of refugees, there was the menace of joblessness in cities which, even before Diane, were listed as "labor surplus" areas.

Early estimates indicated the flood would make 100,000 unemployed. The job loss was spread unevenly, piling up critically in some towns. Woonsocket, R. I., for example, had more than 10% of its population out of work. Worcester, Mass., faced a loss of 10,000 jobs. The "Brass Valley" along Connecticut's Naugatuck was washed out. U. S. Rubber Co. plants in Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts were badly hit. American Brass Co. said "it is impossible to estimate" when its three big Connecticut mills would reopen. Berkshire-Hathaway, Inc., said its large textile plants in Rhode Island would be closed "indefinitely."

FISHING IN FLOODWATERS: Although many of the washed-out, burned-out plants will ultimately reopen, the N. Y. **World-Telegram and Sun** (8/24) reported that some Southern states were stepping up their campaign to lure runaways from the north. Scott Candler of the Georgia Dept. of Commerce told the paper:

> "We have no plans to invite storm-hit industry down now, but after the dust settles (sic), I think we will."

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His Life . . . and Our Conscience

"We are once again about to be disgraced by the men of little vision and bad connections to whom we have entrusted the banner of freedom."—N. Y. Post editorial, 3/21, on scrapping of Arbenz land reform.

WE GAVE the banner 14 months ago to Carlos Castillo Armas, now President of Guatemala. We dictated the terms. We took credit for the "victory." We cannot shrug off the responsibility for the hundreds who have been killed since and the thousands imprisoned.

In turning the clock back, our Castillo Armas is trying to round up and behead the leadership of a gallant Guatemalan resistance movement.

CLEMENCY, CLEMENCY, CLEMENCY

Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, a young man, stayed behind in Guatemala 14 months ago. He was once a youth leader in Guatemala's majority party. He is now the General Secretary of the Guatemalan Workers (Communist) Party, which in the underground continues its united front with the three other parties that made up the Arbenz coalition.

For 14 months Alvarado moved about the country, organizing resistance to jailings, killings, hunger. He hid in peasant huts, fields, in workers' shacks. Two weeks ago he was caught. He faces a court martial. He may die before his trial—for Castillo's questioners are grim.

The chief of Castillo's Secret Police, Jorge Bernabe Linares, held the same post under the bloody dictator Ubico. The Christian Science Monitor (7/11), said he had *"acquired a reputation for cruelty during his previous term of office."*

With or without a trial, Alvarado Monzon may die —unless Castillo's mind can be changed.

Castillo's ears are turned to the north. He has been placed in power by us. He depends on our handouts, our tourists.

We North Americans can live down our shame if we ask NOW for the life of Bernardo Alvarado Monzon. Write your plea for clemency to:

Ambassador Jose Luis Cruz Salazar
Guatemalan Embassy
1614 18th St., N. W. Washington, D. C.

If you wish to help publish ads like this in other papers you may send funds to Betty Millard, editor, LATIN AMERICA TODAY, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

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Los Angeles

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Bay Area, California

GUARDIAN READERS WILL ANSWER BELFRAGE EXILE with bigger GUARDIAN circulation. Let's get on the job, Wed., 8 p.m., Sept. 7, at Conference Room, 150 Golden Gate Av., S.F. Out-of-towners who can't come write us your plans to help. Malvina Reynolds, 1199 Spruce St., Berkley 7, Calif.

Chicago

DR. HARRY F. WARD will speak on **"GENEVA & THE NEW WORLD SITUATION"** at Midland Hotel. Date changed to Friday, Sept. 30. Auspices: Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

FILMS ON SOVIET AGRICULTURE. First Chicago showing. Wed., Sept. 14, 8 p.m. Mittleman Center, 2733 W. Hirsch. Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

"CHILDREN OF THE A-BOMB" A truly great movie. Make a date to see this feature length Japanese movie (93 minutes—Eng. sub-titles) at the meeting opening our fall season, Sept. 8—8:15 p.m. YMCA, 1621 W. Division St.

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• • • •

The Manchester Guardian comments: "It is not a violent film . . . it is simply the most moving human document I know against atomic war as such . . . quite regardless (where) the bombs are made. . . . If I were the world's dictator, I would make this film a compulsory piece of education and moral rearmament for the whole human race." Adm FREE: Northwest Peace Committee.

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Pamphlets

WHY WERE THE SPARTANS the most powerful men of all time? Find the answer in "Theory of Sexual Electronics," 3 pages, mimeographed, $1. "The theory is obviously a very good one . . . highly possible."—Frank P. Foster, M.D., Lahey Clinic, Boston. "I have read with fascinated attention your exposition of Sexual Electronics."—Harrison Smith, publisher, "The Saturday Review." This concept will regenerate human life. Order from Vernon Ward, Belhaven, N. C.

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Jeff school gives new Fall courses

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL of Social Science last week announced the opening of its fall term, Oct. 3, with a curriculum featuring new courses ranging from "Coalition Strategy and Tactics" to "The Political Economy of Automation."

The school announced a $1 raise in fees ($8 plus 50c for most ten-session courses, $6 for group registrations.) School officials said it was the first tuition boost in ten years and said: "We are confident our students will understand." Registration begins Sept. 12.

Schlamme sings

MARTHA SCHLAMME will be heard in a program of "Folk Songs of Many Lands" on Sat., Oct. 8, at 8 p.m., in Griffith's Auditorium, 605 Broad St., Newark, N J. The concert will be sponsored by the Sholem Aleichem Jewish Children's Chorus. Subscription: $1.25.

Forced freedom

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I know that the time will come (and soon) when Mr. Cedric Belfrage will return to our country in triumph. Mr. Belfrage was silenced in America—but he is free now to write as his conscience and heart will make him tell. Vina Hammer

•

TWIN FALLS, IDAHO

I consider the jailing and subsequent deportation of author and publisher Cedric Belfrage a disgrace to any civilized nation. Commencing Sept. 1, you may count on me for a dollar each month at least and possibly more.

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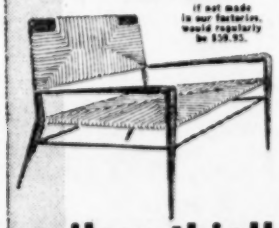
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NEW YORK CALENDAR

CLUB CINEMA, 430 Sixth Av. Sept. 3: "SO ENDS OUR NIGHT." A moving story of political refugees seeking asylum before World War II. An outstanding cast of Frederic March, Margaret Sullivan and Frances Dee, supported by Glenn Ford, Anna Sten and Eric von Stroheim. Showings: Sat. only from 9:00 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; nonmembers, $1.25. Next week: Regular week-end showings resume with "DEATH OF A SALESMAN."

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Dr. Ward talks in Chi. Sept. 30

DR. HARRY F. WARD will speak on "Geneva and the New World Situation" at Chicago's Midland Hotel on Friday, Sept. 30. The Chicago Council of American - Soviet Friendship, sponsors of the meeting, called for volunteer peace makers in the area to communicate with their Council's office at 189 W. Madison, phone ANdover 3-1878.

"Struck work"

AFTER 13 months of negotiation the promotion dept. employes of the American News Co. were on strike last week. The company's best offer: a $2 raise bringing wages up to $65 a week. The Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union has marked as "struck work" these magazines: **Colliers, Cue, Glamour, House & Garden, New Yorker, U. S. News & World Report, Vogue.**

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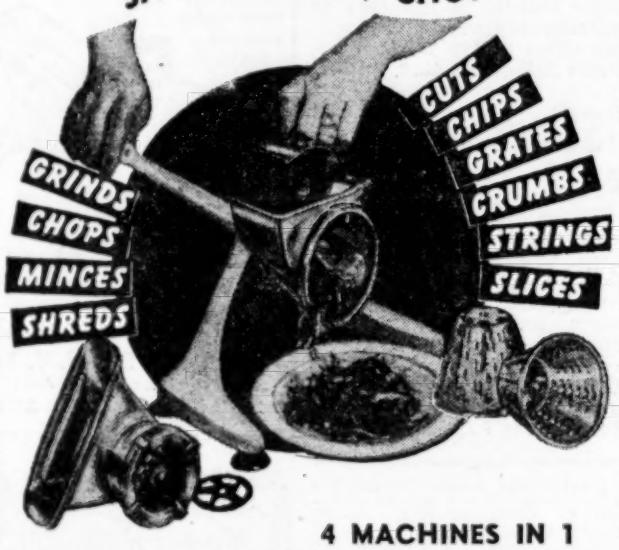

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the SPECTATOR

Olin Downes
Jan. 27, 1886—Aug. 22, 1955

ON AUG. 22 DEATH came to Olin Downes, world-renowned dean of U. S. music critics and world-renowned, too, as one of the few great Americans working actively and ceaselessly for all good causes despite all opposition. When he died at 69 he had been music critic for the N. Y. Times for 32 years, and critic for the Boston Post for 17 years before that. He was the finest, most respected such writer in the history of American journalism. What made him so was not only his knowledge of his chosen field and his zest for his work, but also his constant concern with the life around him. In all fields, his fierce integrity demanded the highest standards of performance.

Olin Downes was an early and unchanging friend of the GUARDIAN. He campaigned for Wallace and Taylor in 1948 as the natural consummation of his years of support of progressive movements before and after the Roosevelt era.

At the conclusion of the Wallace-Taylor campaign he wrote the following comment for the GUARDIAN, which appeared in our issue of Jan. 3, 1949. Later, Mr. Wallace followed the course criticized by Mr. Downes. Olin Downes himself never compromised with the principles he set forth in these paragraphs:

WHEN the record of 1948 is written, it will not be flattering to the "liberal" intellectuals of America.

Nineteen hundred forty-eight was the year of world crisis in which this nation sweepingly rejected the one leader of intelligence, integrity and grasp of social problems whom it pos-

OLIN DOWNES, DMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH, AARON COPLAND
At the Conference for World Peace, New York, March, 1949

sesses: the man who presented the one platform which was responsible, sensible, constructive, coordinated and streamlined to meet the most urgent needs.

EXTREME RADICALS on the one hand, and reactionaries in our government—powerful as they had not been for decades—ran true to form. But where were the so-called "liberals"—the men, allegedly, of thought, courage and social awareness who are presumed to be beyond the reach of mass hysteria?

Why did they not rise in their wrath and denounce a leadership which has been a monument to reaction, stupidity and ineffectual bureaucracy?

THEY DESERTED WALLACE on such flimsy excuses, with such evident uneasiness, that their own explanations were self-accusatory. They dug up the phony charge of communism which they must have known was false. They fluttered angrily in their dovecote at a man who dared face the facts, who would face evil and fight it.

Was it that their vanity was hurt, because the plain citizen—the common man—was entering his century? Or was it that intellectual and polite society simply could not dream of taking off their coats and taking the tomatoes and rotten eggs, the abuses and indignities that would be the penalty for honesty and forthright action?

IT WAS SAFER, in any case, for the "liberals" in the great majority to forsake their rightful job, and break the faith which they had long and politely professed. Wallace, who really stood for plain people in their desperate pass—who acted as well as believed in the defense of humanity—didn't have enough of the right people with him.

And so, in 1949 and afterwards, American intellectuals have got to learn their politics, nationally and internationally, the hard way—as befits those who meet facts with evasion, escapism and frightened sophistry.

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